1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

There is a mound at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, known to be the place of burial of the umbilical cord of a woman of rank, named Mafitoutai.

Nothing was learned of any special attitude towards twins (*mahanga*), except that they were thought desirable.

An attempt is made to flatten the nose of the infant by pressure frequently applied with the fingers. Large calves and small ankles, which are regarded as a mark of beauty, are sought to be developed by frequent massaging of the flesh of the child from the ankle upward and from the knee downward.

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

A lock of hair over one temple (called *fangafanga*) was worn by young girls until virginity was lost. Thereafter the hair was cut short (shaved, one informant said) from the forehead straight back to the neck. This was done as soon as the loss of virginity became known, and whether the loss was due to marriage or illicit relations. The daughter of a great chief might wear all her hair of her head at full length until her marriage, but not thereafter. The term *fakahaalavaka* was used to designate the particular style in which a chiefly girl of the Haa Havea wore her hair as a sign of virginity. Baker (2) uses this term as the designation of long hair worn as a sign of virginity by any girl.

Chiefly families still observe the ancient ceremonies connected with the incipiency of womanhood. These observances were formerly general. When the first period of a daughter of a great chief arrives, her mother is notified and then her father informed. The mother will say to him: "Our daughter has commenced to menstruate today." The girl is then forbidden to bathe during this first period, because of the belief that it would stop the flow. She is painted all over with turmeric by her mother on the first day and then put to bed, as though she were sick, to remain for the rest of the period. While she is lying in bed a big feast is held, given by her father, but supervised by the father's sister. Gifts are distributed by the mother. When the flow ceases, the girl bathes. She is accompanied by an old female attendant. She and the old woman chew *tuitui* (candlenut), *langakali* flowers, *nukonuka* flowers, and *pako* grass root, or other sweet-smelling plants. These masticated plants are rubbed over the body before bathing and the candlenut is used as soap.

No deity had charge of the girl during her period. Girls were not married before first menstruation.

The first period of the daughter of the Tui Tonga was marked by the following observances. The girl was painted with turmeric, she was forbidden to bathe, and she slept on and under black tapa to hide the blood

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

and because that kind of tapa was stiff and would stand away from her body. Presents were brought by all the surrounding country people and presented to the Tui Tonga. The men brought kava and food. The women brought mats, tapa, baskets, wooden pillows, and other valuable articles. The gift was called (both men's and women's together), *katoanga oe ngata* (literally, the finishing feast), probably in reference to the termination of childhood. The permanent gifts went to the Tui Tonga and his family; the food gifts were distributed among the people gathered to celebrate the occasion. There was no confinement of the girl or food tapu.

During menstruation in general, women took care of the flow by means of a piece of tapa rolled up and inserted between the legs, where it was held in place merely by leg pressure. Any piece of old softened tapa would be used for such purpose.

BOYS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

The *tope*, a long lock of hair, worn by small boys over the temple was cut off at puberty, perhaps on the precise occasion of "circumcision." One informant stated that a boy entered manhood, when his voice changed and hair began to develop on his body and face, and that then his lock of hair was cut off. Two other informants were certain that a youth's hair was cut man fashion immediately after the tapu following "circumcision" was lifted.

Circumcision, or better supercision because of the character of the operation, usually took place between the years of twelve and sixteen, but is said to have been performed on boys as young as six years in age. All males were circumcised except the Tui Tonga. The adoption of Christianity seems not to have in any way curtailed the practice except that the Hebrew method has partially displaced the Tongan method.

The terms *tefe* (the vulgar word) and *kaukau* (the word of polite society) are the precise designations for the Tongan operation which consists in making a longitudinal slit in the upper surface of the foreskin. The term *kamu* is also applied, but means truly to circumcise (cut around) and might be applied to a hand or a tree. It is a term of little respect and is applied to the Hebrew form of circumcision. Both operations are now performed for the male population by the Government medical officers.

Supercision was regarded as a sign of manhood and any youth who declined to be operated upon would be forbidden to eat with the other members of the household, must not touch another's food, and would be spurned by the girls. An uncircumcised person is called *kou* or *taetefe*.

Boys were usually operated on in groups called *lango mamalu*. I recall such a group in the Government hospital at Nukualofa in 1921. A chief's

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

in the latter stages it somewhat resembles phthisis. It comes on with occasional chilliness, loss of appetite, lowness of spirits, wasting of the flesh: shortly succeed swellings in the groin and axillæ; general debility, paleness of the lips. As the disease advances the patient stoops very much; experiences pain in the chest, and across the shoulders: sometimes, but not often, a cough, and expectoration now supervene, the debility and emaciation become extreme, and death relieves the patient from his sufferings: these are all the symptoms which Mr. Mariner can speak of with certainty. They use no physical remedies.

Féke-feke appears to be a sort of mild irregular intermittent: the paroxysm usually lasts from two to eight hours, and consists of a cold and a hot stage; but is seldom succeeded by perspiration. The returns of the paroxysm are very uncertain; sometimes two, at other times three, four, five or more days intervene. The patient is sometimes perfectly well for a month, and then his disorder returns.

In regard to diseases properly belonging to females, Mr. Mariner has very little to communicate. The women are in general tolerably healthy: during the catamenia, they anoint themselves all over with a mixture of oil and turmeric, to avoid catching cold; and they do

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the same after lying in, on which occasions women always assist, to the perfect exclusion of the other sex: respecting the circumstances of parturition, and the separation of the child, these things are kept a profound secret from the men*. The men also occasionally use this mixture of turmeric and oil in time of war, when the weather is wet, to prevent them from feeling chilly, for at that time they have scarcely any dress: Mr. Mariner on similar occasions has anointed himself all over with it, and found it to have the desired effect.

* Difficult parturition, as may be supposed, is very rare. Jeremiah Higgins informs me, that he once saw a woman, who rendered wild, and as it were frantic with her sufferings, ran out of the house, her attendants not being able to restrain her, and wandered about the plantation, sometimes stooping down—at other times running as if to escape from the perils that threatened her: her attendants did not attempt to render her any personal assistance; they merely prayed aloud to the gods to send her a speedy and safe delivery; and when she was worn out with fatigue, they carried her into the house. She was three days in labour.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together (602) at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs (574) for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's [574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's bride.

585 Bride and groom are now considered safely and 833 successfully married. According to village pattern, they have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary position is the prone position with the man above. Less frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and [841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the menstrual period.

585 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may 526 often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom. They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs, mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment may have to be made over many successive months after the marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the [554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations incurred may often assume for the groom's household a crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great labour and planning before all the obligations are finally cleared away.

585 So far the description has been in terms of formal 178 pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may now be presented to show both additions and limitations on the pattern:

584 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older 593 brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

right does the pounding. The boy on the left adds the water as required and later calls out the names of the drinkers that the cups of *kava* may be passed to them in turn.

The *kava*-maker sits quietly behind her bowl when she is not making or filling cups. She keeps her hands folded. She is not supposed to touch her head or face or to talk throughout the evening. A menstruating girl neither makes nor drinks *kava* because of a *tapu* on cold water at this time. A woman who has given birth to a child, similarly does not make *kava* for at least a month after the delivery.

The drinkers sit in a semi-circle facing the *kava*-bowl if the arrangement of the house allows this pattern. Otherwise they sit round three walls of the house, their backs against the walls, with the *kava*-maker at the fourth wall. Generally the young man at the left of the maker calls the name of the drinker. He holds a half coconut-cup over the bowl. The maker lifts the strainer and the *kava* runs into the cup. The drinker named claps his hands together twice and the cup is passed hand to hand until it reaches the drinker. The drinker may indicate that the cup is not full enough for his liking. In this case, the cup is passed back and more *kava* is added. The drinker is supposed to swallow his cupful at one breath. He passes the empty cup back along the circle of hands to be refilled for another or else spins the cup along the floor in such fashion that it comes to rest against the *kava*-bowl. Two coconut-cups are sufficient for any but the largest gathering. The drinkers wait patiently for their names to be called. If the *kava* is finished before all the names of those present are called, those uncalled are without luck. The bowl is placed aside to wait until another bowlful is made. This may be any time up to half an hour later. Meanwhile the flow of discussion is resumed until one of the older men present indicates by a nod or muttered word that it is time to make more *kava*. The wrung-out *kava* from the last bowl is used again unless it is obvious that all the strength has been washed out. Then new *kava*-root is substituted entirely or else added to the old crushed root.

There is little attempt to preserve any patterned formality in an ordinary drinking-party. An older man indicates that one of the youth should call the names for the drinking unless he asks one of the adults to do so. Names

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

278
137

RHAMNACEAE
(Buckthorn Family)

ALPHITONIA ZIZYPHOIDES (Spreng.) A. Gray

toi

This large tree is frequent in Tonga and is distributed also from Sumatra and the Philippines eastward to Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti the bark enters into lotions for
[171] treating eczema (19).
[757] In Tonga the liquid derived from the
[841] boiled bark is drunk in cases of constipation, for coughs, headache, and menstrual pain.

RUBIACEAE
(Coffee Family)

278
137 CARINTA HERBACEA (Jacq.) W. F. Wight, ex Saff.

tono

This pantropical species is occasional in Tonga.

278 In Tonga the leaves are crushed, placed
846 in a cloth, and then squeezed in a small quantity of water. The wet cloth is sucked by newly born infants. The liquid is thought to help make the meconium pass.

278 GARDENIA TAITENSIS DC.

siale

137 Frequently planted in Tonga for its flowers, this species occurs also in Fiji and throughout Polynesia.

278 In Tahiti an infusion of the flowers is
171 taken as a remedy for migraine headache (19). In Niue the root-bark is considered a treatment for headache (31), while in the Philippines the fruits of *G. pseudopsidium* (Blanco) Vill. are used against smallpox (8).

278 In Tonga an infusion of the bark mixed
757 with sugar and lime juice is employed to relieve nausea, headache, and weakness in
[843] pregnancy. A plain infusion of the bark is
[775] valued as a cure for hallucinations thought
[828] to be caused by the ghost of a deceased relative.

278 GUETTARDA SPECIOSA L.

puopua

137 This tree is commonly found near the shore in Tonga, and is widely distributed throughout Polynesia.

[p. 444-A]